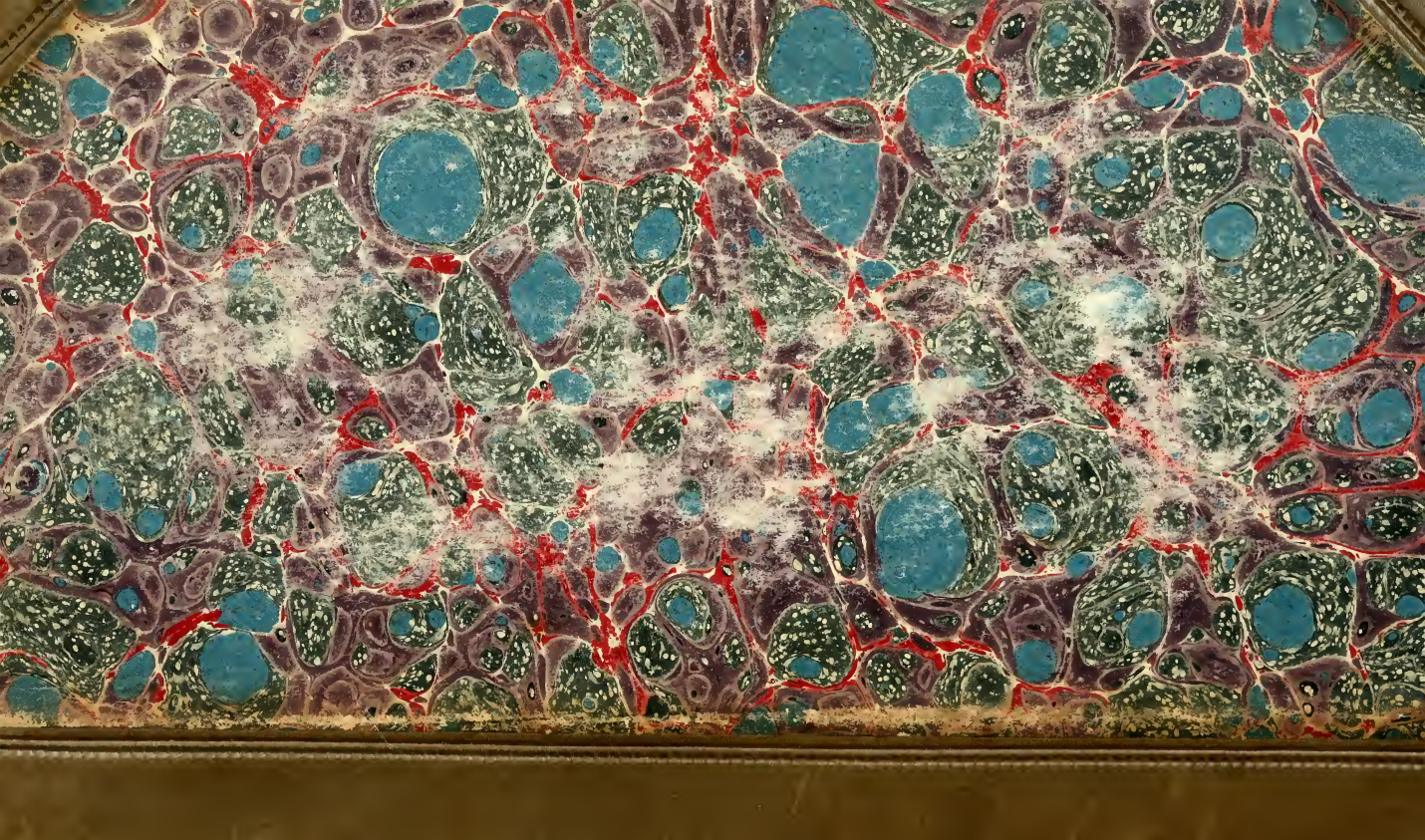

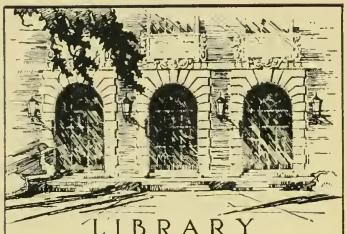

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16

THE LIMITS OF
LAY RESPONSIBILITY AND PRIVILEGE

IN THE

COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH:

A Speech

DELIVERED (IN SUBSTANCE) AT THE SYNOD OF THE UNITED DIOCESES OF MORAY, ROSS, AND CAITHNESS, HELD IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST ANDREW, INVERNESS,

MAY 4, 1870.

BY

HENRY CLARK POWELL, M.A.,
PROVOST OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Αἱ περὶ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομίαι γίγνονται μὲν παρὰ τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὴν προστασίαν αὐτῶν, βεβαιοῦνται δὲ παρὰ τῶν λαῶν.

S. Basil, Ep. 230, *vol. iv. p.* 861, *Ed. Migne.*

"Et quia definitionem antiquorum Patrum, nostramque, quæ suprascripta est, non solum religiosis, sed etiam laicis medicamentum esse et desideramus et cupimus; placuit ut eam etiam et illustres ac magnifici viri, qui nobiscum ad præfatam festivitatem convenerunt, propria manus subscriberent." Conc. Arausic. Secund. A.D. 529.

Hard. Conc. vol. ii. p. 1102, *A.*

Published by request of the Primus and Clergy.

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MDCCCLXX.

TO

THE MOST REVEREND THE PRIMUS,

AND

THE REVEREND THE CLERGY,

BY WHOSE DESIRE THIS SPEECH, DELIVERED BEFORE THEM,
IS NOW PUBLISHED,

AND TO

THE FAITHFUL LAITY,

THE LIMITS OF WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY AND PRIVILEGE IN THE COUNCILS
OF THE CHURCH, ACCORDING TO THE MIND OF HOLY SCRIPTURE
AND THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, IT ATTEMPTS TO
DEFINE, THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE
MOST RESPECTFULLY
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SPEECH.

My Lord Primus, Reverend and Lay Brethren,—I should have had considerable reluctance in rising to bring forward any resolution at this my first appearance as a member of the Synod of this diocese, were it not that, having for some time past watched the progress of this question in England with great interest, and having devoted a good deal of attention to the subject, I trust on this score to obtain your favourable indulgence; and whatever deficiencies or errors may be observed in what I shall now venture to lay before you, will, I hope, be corrected and supplied by succeeding speakers.

We have already affirmed, in the terms of the previous resolution, the principle that it is right that the laity should take a larger part in our Synods than they have hitherto done; and the precise aspect of the question which is now to come under our consideration is, within what limits this is to take place. The resolution which I would propose as an answer to this question is this:—

"That as respects the limits within which the laity should be admitted to further powers and functions in the councils of the Church, it is the opinion of the Synod that, with the exception of the power of veto upon the decisions of the bishops and clergy implying doctrine, it is in accordance with the principles of Holy Scripture and the mind of the Primitive Church, that laymen should speak, vote, and lend their assistance in carrying out the decisions arrived at as freely and fully as the clerical members of the Synods."

This is the resolution which I submit that we should adopt. You will observe that, with one exception, viz., that of veto, whereby, if a constitution were adopted for our Synods in other respects similar to those at present existing in the American and Colonial Churches, the lay portion of the Synod would have the power of hindering the bishops and clergy from the full exercise of the powers entrusted to them, the laity are admitted by the terms of the resolution to powers equal to those of the episcopal and clerical orders.

And you will further observe that the resolution states, that a constitution embodying these principles, accompanied by this limitation, would be in accordance with the principles of Holy Scripture and the mind of the Primitive Church. I believe that it would be so. But it is of the utmost importance that we should be fully satisfied as to the truth of this statement. For, my Lord, I shall not be thought to be using terms of exaggeration, if I say that we can hardly over-estimate the importance of the decision which the Church may arrive at on this question. That which we are proposing is either a revolution in the constitution of the Church, or it is a carrying into effect of true principles which have lain long in abeyance, and the revival of which will, we may hope, promote not a little the stability and growth of the Church.

Let me then proceed, as well as I am able, to substantiate the statements of the resolution. I lay some stress upon the expression "*mind* of the Primitive Church." For evidence respecting the conciliar proceedings of the Church in early times is, comparatively speaking, so scanty, that if you compare the details of the constitution of the American or Colonial Churches in the matter of their Synods, as set forth, for instance, in this pamphlet* which I hold in my hand, with the records remaining of the early councils, you will find it, I think, impossible to give a definite answer to any, or hardly any of the questions of *detail* which you would wish to have determined. But as regards the *mind* of the Primitive Church, it is otherwise. We may, I think, be definitely certified that

* Church Organisation. The Constitution of the Church in the United States of America, in Canada, and in New Zealand, &c. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. Sherlock, B.A., Curate of Bray. Dublin: Hodges, Foster, & Co.

it was not contrary but agreeable to the mind of the early Church from apostolic times, that laymen should be present at Synods, and present as an integral part of them, and as such take part in their decisions, in matters of doctrine as well as in other matters. And, on the other hand, the limitation is no less clear, that it would have been thought a concession which the clergy had no right to make, had the laity been allowed to overrule their decisions, or to hinder them from being carried into effect. This I hope to be able satisfactorily to prove.

But, my Lord, in order that we may be in a better position for estimating rightly the force and bearing of the direct documentary evidence, I would, in the first instance, bring forward some previous considerations affording a presumption, at least, if no more, of the conclusion at which we ought to arrive. For we have these two principles to start from. We have, on the one hand, the Pastoral Commission given to the clergy, concerning which it may be enough for the present purpose to say, that it includes the office of teaching the truth in all the various ways in which that duty may be performed, and also the office of maintaining and guarding the truth. To the clergy especially is the παραθήκην,* the good deposit, given in the charge But, on the other hand, though this was given in charge to them principally, it was not given to them exclusively. "The faith"† was "delivered once for all to the *saints*"—that is, not to the clerical members of the one body only, but to the whole body and in different degrees, according to their position in it, to all its members, lay as well as clerical. For by the Church, which is the "pillar and ground of the truth,"‡ we are not to understand merely any one class, or rank, or caste of persons, but all—whether bishops, clergy, or laity—who, by the one Spirit in baptism,§ have been grafted into the one body, and have been made to drink of the same Holy Spirit.

* 2 Tim. i. 14; 1 Tim. vi. 20.

† S. Jude 3. "Τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει. Loquitur Prælatis præcipue, sed et cæteris suo ordine," says Cornelius à Lapide (Comment. in loc.). This is entirely consistent with what he afterwards says :—"Denique perperam hic colligunt hæretici, laicis rudibus et indoctis licere disputare de fide : aliud enim est disputare, quod non nisi peritorum est et doctorum, aliud certare ; certant enim etiam simplices et rudes, non disputando, sed constanter veritatem fidemque asserendo et tuendo."

‡ 1 Tim. iii. 15. § 1 Cor. xii. 13.

Consequently, however, the proportion of support to be rendered to the truth by the several portions of the body, "the pillar of the truth," may vary according to their difference of position in it, some share in this duty must belong to all. The only way in which this conclusion could be invalidated, would appear to be by showing that in practice the several functions of the body, and this of maintaining and guarding the truth among them, had been always performed exclusively by the clergy as representatives of the whole body.

But this is not the case; for it has been shown by the present Bishop of Salisbury, Dr Moberly, in the Bampton Lectures for 1868—and we owe, I think, no little gratitude to the author of those able and thoughtful lectures for placing us in the true position for determining rightly this important question respecting the laity—that a more or less important part has been recognised by the Church as devolving upon her lay members, and may, in fact, be seen to have been exercised by them with more or less distinctness at different times, in all offices, even those pertaining specially to the clergy, which the Church exercises. Dr Moberly points out that a part, although a subordinate part, belongs to the laity in the administration of baptism and holy communion, in the conferring of holy orders, and in the exercise of absolution—these being acts of the Church as a whole, although the principal part in their administration is committed to the clerical portion of the body.

If, then, in these sacramental offices even of the Church, the laity have a part to bear, is there not a presumption afforded by this fact, that in respect of the conciliar action of the Church also, some responsibility of action must rest upon them? That the force of these considerations, as bearing upon the part which laymen ought to take in councils, was present to the mind of St Chrysostom, will appear from the following passage, in which, after mention of the share which pertains to the laity in most of the Church offices just mentioned, he continues thus:*—

* S. Chrys. in 2 Cor. viii. 24. Lib. of the Fathers, Translation. I am indebted to a paper by the Rev. Canon Simmons, entitled "The Representation of the Laity in Convocation," p. 13, for the reference to this passage. See also Moberly, Bampton Lect. note, pp. 326, 327. The mind of S. Chrysostom may be further gathered from the following passage, in which he sums up the case of the excommunicated Corinthian:—"Throughout, he [*i.e.*, S. Paul] makes this forgiveness the joint act of him-

"Now I have said all this, in order that each one of the laity also may keep their attention awake (νήφῃ, may feel his responsibility, literally 'be sober'), that we may understand that we are all one body, having such difference amongst ourselves as members with members, and may not throw the whole upon the priests, but ourselves also so care for the whole Church, as for a body common to us. For this course will provide for our greater safety, and for your greater growth unto virtue. Hear, at least, in the case of the apostles, how frequently they admitted the laity to share in their decisions. For when they ordained the seven, they first communicated with the people; and when Peter ordained Matthias, with all that were then present, both men and women. For here is no pride of rulers, nor slavishness in the ruled; but a spiritual rule, in this particular usurping most, in taking on itself the greater share of the labour and of that care which is on your behalf, not in seeking larger honours. For so ought the Church to dwell as one house, as one body, so to be all disposed. . . . . Why, then, are we divided, when so great things unite us?" And mark the remedy he proposes for these divisions: "We ought to image the conjunction of one body. For in this way will he that is greater be able to gain even from him that is less. For if Moses learnt from his father-in-law somewhat expedient which himself had not perceived, much more in the Church may this happen. . . . . For no one of these is at so great a distance from his neighbour, as Moses' father-in-law was from him. . . . . Let us, then, not overlook those who give us behoveful counsel, even though they be of those under us, though they be of the meaner sort. . . . . And say not, 'Why dost thou call me to council, if thou hearkenest not to

self and them. Consider it from the first; 'But if any,' saith he, 'have cause grief, he hath not grieved me, but, in part, all of you, that I may not be too severe. Then again, 'Sufficient to such a man is this censure which was inflicted of many. This is his own decision and opinion. He rested not, however, with this decision, but again makes them concur, saying, 'So that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him and comfort him. Wherefore, I beseech you that ye would confirm your love toward him.' Having thus again made the whole their act, he passes to his own authority, saying, 'For to this end did I write unto you, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things.' Then again he makes the favour theirs, saying, 'To whom ye forgive anything.' Then his own, 'I forgive also;' saying, 'If I have forgiven anything, it is for your sakes.'"—S. Chrys. on 2 Cor. ii. 11. Lib. of the Fathers, Translation.

what I say ?'" (He puts these words, apparently, into the mouth of the clergy.) "These accusations are not a counsellor's, but a despot's. . . . . Thus, if both houses and states—thus, too, if the Church be ordered, she will receive a larger increase."

But, my Lord, the Bishop of Salisbury further urges, in the lectures referred to, that Holy Scripture affords evidence of a recognition, on the part of the lay portion of the Spirit-bearing body, being sought for as regards the actual teaching of the apostles and apostolic men, both oral and written. It would lead me too far from my present purpose to enter into Dr Moberly's arguments on this head. Let it be sufficient to say—if, indeed, in speaking of Dr Moberly, it is necessary to say—that he is careful to state the relative and subordinate proportion in which such recognition by the laity was sought and given. We ourselves are familiar with the fact, that it was by means of the gradual sealing of the Spirit, given through the instrumentality of the entire body, that the canon of Holy Scripture was, in the course of the first four centuries, defined as the Church has since received it. We are aware that recognition and acceptance by the whole Church is necessary to give full authority to the determinations of even general councils. And the remembrance of these facts may enable us to appreciate the bearing of what has been just mentioned as urged by Dr Moberly upon the question which now occupies us. Nor must we forget that, both in Scripture itself and in ecclesiastical history, laymen are found maintaining and spreading the truth by actual teaching. We read* that those who were scattered abroad after the martyrdom of S. Stephen, went everywhere preaching the word. Apollos,† Aquila, and Priscilla, are other Scriptural instances. And, in later times,‡ Origen, yet a layman, was bidden by the Bishops Alexander of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea, to preach and expound the Scriptures publicly in the Church, as he had already done in the Catechetical School at Alexandria; and on Demetrius of Alexandria remonstrating at this as a breach of Church order, Alexander and Theoctistus, in their reply, inform him that he is mistaken, and quote several instances

* Acts viii. 4 † Acts xviii. 24 28. ‡ Eus. H. E. vi. 19.

of laymen having been allowed so to do. That they were right may be argued from a canon of the Fourth Council of Carthage, A.D. 398,—"Let not a layman presume to teach in the presence of the clergy, except at their bidding." And, as late as the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, a canon* was passed at the Trullan Council, "that it behoves not a layman to dispute or teach publicly."

I mention these facts as showing that the mind of the Primitive Church in regard to laymen was not altogether in accordance with that jealous spirit of separation which prevailed in later times. Whilst the office of the appointed ministry was fully recognised and respected, such aid as laymen could render in subordination to this was always joyfully welcomed, and their zeal applauded. So† was it in the case of Edesius and Frumentius, the apostles of Abyssinia, and of the captive woman from whom the Iberians first received the gospel, in the fourth century. So was it that Flavian‡ and Diodorus were praised for their zeal in defence of the truth at Antioch, against the Arian Bishop Leontius. And when Eusebius, a layman, exclaimed in open church against the false doctrine of Nestorius, he was expressly applauded for it by S. Cyril of Alexandria.§

The PRIMUS.—A bad precedent!

The PROVOST.—Yes, my Lord, a bad precedent for these times. But in those days, when the spiritual portion of the Church was in little danger of not having its proper functions recognised, S. Cyril does not hesitate to praise the layman for the part he took in contending for the faith delivered to him, as well as to all other members of the Church, to preserve and guard.

These considerations, as exhibiting the mind of holy Scripture, and of the primitive Church, as to the position of laymen in the body of Christ, and especially in regard to the part

* Canon lxiv.

† See for the history of these faithful Christians, Fleury, Hist. Eccles. liv. xi. 38, 39. In each case the aid of the appointed ministry was sought for as soon as possible.

‡ Fleury, liv. xii. 46.

§ S. Cyril, Alex. Adv. Nestor, b. i. c. 5, tom. ix. p. 41, ed. Migne—*ἀνήρ τις τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιεικῶν, καὶ τελῶν μὲν ἐν λαϊκοῖς ἔτι, πλὴν οὐκ ἀθαύμαστον συναγηγερκὼς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν παίδευσιν, θερμῶ τε καὶ φιλοθέῳ κεκίνηται ζήλῳ* κ.τ.λ.

which they might take in extra-conciliar diffusion or preservation of the common faith, are important, as showing that, because they have not a responsibility equal to that of the clergy in reference to these duties, it does not, therefore, follow that they have none. They prepare us to recognise that the true principle upon which the Church has acted, and should act, is not to be carried out by entire exclusion of the faithful laity from synodal maintenance or declaration of doctrine, but by maintaining the due proportion which belongs respectively to the clergy and laity in the execution of this duty. But this requires to be substantiated by direct documentary evidence of the actual practice of the Church in council. This evidence will, I think, be most clearly exhibited, if we examine separately the practice of the Churches of different countries. Enough will, I believe, be found to show that laymen did take of old a certain distinct part in councils, diocesan, provincial, and general.

And first, as regards the Churches of the East. Our eyes naturally turn first to the venerable Council of Jerusalem, as the model of all succeeding councils. Now, setting aside the disputed reading of Acts xv. 23, there are these facts to show the share which the lay brethren took in the whole matter. First, we read that those who came from Antioch "were received by the Church and the apostles and the presbyters" (ver. 4),—"the Church," that is, the lay portion of it, thus receiving distinct recognition as concerned in the matter. Next, it is to observed that the apostles and the presbyters are alone mentioned as coming together to consider of this matter; which, as on the one hand, it is an indication with whom the principal part in the council rested, so, on the other, it involves the admission that when, as in ver. 22, the whole Church is ranked with them, the whole Church must also be supposed to have acted with them. The mention of "the whole multitude" (ver. 12) shows who were present at the council; and it is at least probable that some of these took part in the "much disputing" which there was (ver. 7). If anything is to be concluded from S. James' expression, "My sentence is," as to the persons with whom it lay to give a "decisive vote," the conclusion must be, that none but S. James himself could do so, for the ἐγὼ κρίνω is

too emphatic to justify the inclusion of the other apostles and the elders. But, probably, he was only summing up what he saw the conclusion of the council to be, and thus, as president, bringing the proceedings to an end. And now observe how action is taken upon this conclusion,—"Then pleased it (ἔδοξε) the apostles and the presbyters, with the whole Church, to send chosen men of themselves to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas," and with the conciliar decree, in which they state their determination, after declaring the cause of it, in these terms: "It seemed good unto us, being assembled together with one accord, to send chosen men unto you." Before the decree it is said, "It seemed good to the apostles and the presbyters, with the whole Church, to send chosen men." In the decree it is said, "It seemed good to us, being assembled together with one accord, to send chosen men." Is it not clear that the "us" in the latter case includes the same persons as are mentioned in ver. 22? And, if so,* have we not distinct Scriptural warrant for the laity being joined with the clerical portion of the body, "being assembled together with one accord," in the settlement of a doctrinal question of the highest importance? That the most prominent part in the matter was not theirs; that the chief responsibility did not rest with them, is of course abundantly clear. But whilst there is nothing to determine the manner and degree in which the laity acted with the clergy, it seems perfectly certain that they were joined subordinately with them in what was done. Hear how S. Chrysostom comments upon this: "Then finally the decree is made by common consent; 'then it seemed good to the apostles and presbyters, with the whole Church,' &c." And on the words, "It seemed good to us, being assembled together with one accord," &c., he adds, "So as to show that it is not done in a tyrannical way, that all take part in the resolution, and that they write the letter with careful consideration."†

The expression of the writer in Eusebius, describing the synods which met to condemn Montanism in the second

* The importance attached to the question, whether or not the brethren joined with the apostles and presbyters in sending the letter, is shown by the earnestness with which the reading καὶ οἱ, in ver. 23, has been debated.

† See Moberly, B. L. p. 118.

century, as being composed of "the faithful,"* or that of Tertullian,† describing certain synods in Greece as "councils of the entire churches," in which "the actual representation of the entire Christian name" was exhibited, are at least suggestive of the idea that others besides bishops took part in these synods. The address of the letter of the Second Council of Antioch, in which Paul of Samosata was condemned, A.D. 269, is still more significant. It runs thus, as given in Eusebius,‡ "Helenus and Hymenæus . . . . and all the other bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, fellow-sojourners with us in the neighbouring cities and nations, and the Churches of God, to Dionysius and Maximus, and the bishops, and presbyters, and deacons throughout the world, one with us in the common ministry, and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven, beloved brethren in the Lord, greeting." How strongly this recalls the conjunction of the apostles and the elders and the whole Church, at the Council of Jerusalem! How strongly it savours of a time when every portion of the body of Christ received due recognition, and bore its own share of duty! How strongly it contrasts with a later development of mediævalism, when at the Council of Trent it was proposed by some one to teach the laity that they were not the Church.§

Fifty-six years later the great Council of Nicæa was assembled, at which we know, on the express testimony of Socrates, Sozomen, and Eusebius, that laymen were present. Their part in the matter is sometimes confined to the days preceding the actual meeting of the council. But observe the expressions used concerning them. These are the words of Sozomen,‖ "Constantine . . . . wrote to the most eminent bishops of the Churches of every country." He then mentions

* Anon. in Eus. H. E. v. 16. Τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχῇ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τοῦτο συνελθόντων.

† Tertull. de Jejun. xiii. Aguntur præterea per Græcias illa certis in locis concilia ex universis Ecclesiis, per quæ et altiora quæque in commune tractantur, et ipsa repræsentatio totius nominis Christiani magna veneratione celebratur.

‡ Eus. H. E. vii. 30. S. Jerome says that this letter was drawn up by Malchion, the wise presbyter who confuted Paul, *ex persona synodi*—a significant expression when compared with the persons named in the address!—*De Viris Illustr.* lxxi.

§ Canon Simmons, Laity in Convocation, p. 13.

‖ Sozom. i. 17. I have used the translation published by Bagster, for Socrates and Sozomen, only correcting it where it was manifestly erroneous.

the bishops of the chief sees, and continues thus: "Many other pious and excellent men of the neighbouring provinces were congregated together, of whom some were celebrated for their learning, their eloquence, and their knowledge of literature, sacred and profane; some for the virtuous tenor of their life, and others for the combination of all these qualifications. About 320 bishops were present, accompanied by a multitude of presbyters and deacons. There* were likewise men present who were skilled in the art of disputation, and ready to assist in the discussions." Socrates† says, "There were also present many laymen, skilled in reasoning, ready to speak on either side." And Eusebius, as quoted by Socrates: "The number of the bishops exceeded 300; while the number of the presbyters, deacons, and acolytes, who attended them, was almost incalculable. Some of these ministers of God were eminent for their wisdom, some for the strictness of their life and patient endurance of persecution, and others united in themselves all these distinguished characteristics; some were venerable from their advanced age, others were conspicuous for their youth and vigour of mind, and others had but recently entered on their ministerial career. . . . . The doctrines which had thus the common consent were confirmed by the signature of each individual."

How is it credible that the character and qualifications of these men, belonging to the laity as well as to the clergy, should be dwelt upon as they are, that no distinction should be made in the enumeration of those who were present, except that the clergy in the order of their rank are named first; no statement that the bishops‡ alone composed the council proper, and yet that this really was the case, and that the part

* Συμπαρῆσαν δὲ αὐτοις ἄνδρες διαλέξεων ἔμπειροι, ἐκείνοις βοηθεῖν λόγοις σπουδάζοντες.

† Socr. i. 8. Συμπαρῆσαν δὲ καὶ λαϊκοὶ πολλοὶ διαλεκτικῆς ἔμπειροι, ἐν ἑκατέρῳ μέρει συνηγορεῖν προθυμούμενοι.

‡ The facts that the Emperor is only stated to have written to bishops, that the council is often called the Assembly of the Fathers or of the Bishops, or even that they alone subscribed, are really not conclusive of this, in the face of the evidence from the historians, that others besides the bishops were at the council. The bishops were the persons who would naturally be written to. A council in which the deacon Athanasius exercised a principal influence, might as naturally be styled the "Assembly of the Bishops." And if none but bishops did subscribe, it may have been that this was sufficient, as being in the name of all.

taken by the laymen who were present was confined to certain preliminary discussions previous to the opening of the council? It is "well known that, for all the inferiority of his rank (for he was then only a deacon in the Alexandrian Church), S. Athanasius exercised a principal influence on the tone and course of the deliberations."* If, then, a deacon could take so considerable a part, may not many a pious and learned layman have borne his witness also to "the faith once delivered to the saints?" The Church was assembled, not to invent new doctrines, but to declare the old. And in this character of witnessing to the truth, usually in its simplest expression, as contained in the Church's Creed, the work of a council differs somewhat from the ordinary teaching office exercised by the ministry. This office consists in explaining, illustrating, enforcing, and showing the various bearings of a particular doctrine, as well as enunciating it, and thus, even apart from the question of authority, lies beyond the capacity of the only ordinarily-instructed layman. In modern times, and especially in England, the exercise of the Church's office of witnessing to the truth held from the beginning has become more complicated. But this simpler duty is the proper work of a council, so far as doctrine comes before it. And this was especially the office, as Mr Keble has shown, which the early councils considered to be their own. When, then, we raise our eyes above the mist, caused in part by untoward relations with a state not composed of churchmen, in part by the spread, to some extent among all ranks, of infidel opinions, and look back to these earlier days, what is there which could be thought inconsistent with the ministerial authority of the bishops and clergy of Christ's Church, in the lay members of the body joining with them in support of the truth committed alike to all?

Much has been said of the signatures of bishops alone being found attached to the acts of the councils. The assertion as regards councils other than general is not correct, perhaps not as regards even them. But if it were, would it amount to so clear a demonstration as is sometimes said, that the power of deciding rested entirely with the bishops? The

* Mr Keble's Serm. on Primitive Tradition, Appendix, pp. 123, 124, 4th ed.

idea of a decisive vote, which now forms so regular a part of our conception of conciliar proceedings, was not known, I imagine—at least* I am not aware of any proof that it was—at the time of which we are now speaking. Is it not, then, probable that the signatures of the bishops at the conclusion of the council answered to the ἐγὼ κρίνω of S. James—that they were the summing up and sealing, by those who from their office were empowered to represent the whole council, of the conclusion which had been arrived at by common consent? If none but bishops did sign at general councils, this may at least have been very probably the reason, that the rest of those who took part in the council were satisfied with the bishops in so numerous a body signing on their behalf. But it is not improbable that others besides the bishops did sign, though their names have not been preserved. For Gelasius of Cysicus, the compiler of the account of the Council of Nicæa, expressly says that he has not given the signatures of all even of the bishops. And Eusebius, as we have seen, says that "the doctrines which had the common consent were confirmed by the signature of each individual." In a later council, sometimes called general, we know that signatures, which have not been preserved, were given by laymen. At the Fourth Council of Constantinople, A.D. 869, after the bishops had subscribed, the laymen present at the council were asked if they assented, and how they would subscribe. Being possibly unable to write, they gave their assent in the usual form by word of mouth, and their words were taken down by reporters, "swift† writers taking down what was said by each of them." And yet the signatures of the bishops only remain.

Passing from the first to the last of the four great councils, we have further proof of laymen not only coming to council, but being summoned to take part in it. It is contained in a letter which the Empress Pulcheria, who married the Senator Marcian, and made him nominally Emperor, addressed to the Consular Governor of Bithynia. It was written while the Council was at Nicæa, before its removal to Chalcedon, and

* See Appendix, Note A.

† Harduin, Concil. v. 922, c. "Velocibus scriptoribus excipientibus quæ dicebantur ab unoquoque ipsorum."

was occasioned by certain turbulent persons—clerics, monks, and laymen—having intruded themselves into the assembly. Pulcheria, in her letter, distinctly marks the difference between these unauthorised intruders and those who had received a regular summons to the council. After mentioning the cause which led to her writing, she goes on to say,—"You* will then, in spite of any obstinacy, dismiss entirely from the city and neighbourhood any persons who, without summons from us or command of their bishops, are lingering there, whether clergy (either in possession of their rank, or degraded therefrom by their bishops), or monks, or laymen, whom there is no reason for summoning to council, so that the holy Synod may hold its sittings in perfect good order, and the things enjoined by our Master Christ may be ratified in common by all without any tumult or disorder." Could we have a clearer proof of laymen being summoned, either by imperial or episcopal authority, perhaps in both ways, to take part in a general council?

It is, my Lord, not a little remarkable that the sphere from which at present it is thought by some chiefly obligatory that laymen should be excluded should be that of doctrine, whereas in former times, when the clerical portion of the Church was separating itself in accordance with mediæval principles as widely as possible from the lay portion, and the struggle was to prevent any interference by the laity in clerical discipline, it was not thought that doctrine was a matter foreign to them.

* Harduin, Conc. ii. 47 48. *"Ωστε σε κατὰ πάσης στερρότητος τοὺς δίχα ἡμετέρας κλήσεως, ἢ ἐπιτροπῆς τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων, ἀυτόθι ἐνδημούντας κληρικοὺς, ἔιτε ἐντὸς τυγχάνοιεν βαθμοῦ, ἔιτε καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων ἀπώσθησαν, ἢ μονάζοντας, ἢ λαϊκοὺς, οὓς οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐπὶ σύνοδον καλεῖν, πάντη ἀπέλασαι τῆς πόλεώς τε καὶ τῶν αὐτόθι τόπων· ὥστε μετὰ πάσης εὐταξίας συνεδρευσάσης τῆς ἁγιᾶς συνοδον κ. τ. λ.* There are these further proofs of the council having been composed of others besides the bishops, bearing out, therefore, the above. At the close of the fifth action, on the general assent to the definition of faith being expressed by the bishops, the judges, as they are called, said *τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τυπωθέντα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀρέσαντα, δῆλα τῇ θείᾳ γενήσεται κορυφῇ.* In the commencement of the seventh action, mention is made both of the bishops and of others *καὶ . . . . ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου.*—Hard. ii. 455, E. 492, c. After the council, S. Leo wrote to the bishops of Gaul, thanking God "that it had there appeared, and been decreed, not only by the bishops of Christ's Church, but also by Christian princes and powers, and all the clergy and people of different orders, on full and evident proofs, that this was the true apostolic and catholic faith."—Quoted by Archdeacon Churton, Speech at York Convocation, Feb. 22, 1870.

There is a remarkable passage, more than once referred to of late, in a letter written by Pope Nicholas I., A.D. 865, to the Emperor Michael, which strikingly illustrates this change.

The letter,* which is a very long one, presses in the strongest manner, and in every possible way, the impropriety of a layman presuming to take into his own hands the discipline of the clergy. (The Emperor Michael had summoned a Synod to decide the case of Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Photius.) Referring to the precedents of past times, the Pope says, "Tell me, pray, where have you read that the emperors—your predecessors—were present at synodal assemblies; unless, perhaps, it was at those in which matters of faith were under discussion, which is of universal concern, which is common to all, which pertains not only to the clergy, but also to the laity, and in general to all Christians."

My Lord, looking back from the ninth century upon the preceding ones, with the light reflected upon them by this passage, are we not made to feel in a most striking manner the difference between those times, in which, even amidst the storms of heresy, the authoritative voice of the Church witnessing to the truth could make itself heard, and was listened to with reverence, and in which, consequently, there was little distrust of the laity taking their part in the support of the common faith, and times like our own, in which the loss of unity and of reverence for Church authority being sadly patent, the fear of many is, that the part taken by the laity in our councils, should they be admitted to them, would be not for

* Epist. Nicolai Papæ I. Ep. 86. Migne Lat. Patrol. vol. cxix. p. 943. Hard. v. 158, c. Gratian Dist. xcvi. c. 4. The passage was commented on by Archdeacon Churton, speech at York Convocation. Hooker, E. P. viii. vi. 8. De Marca, De Concord. Sacerdot. et Imp. lib. ii. 6, 4, pp. 44, 45, comments thus upon it: "Nicolaus I. rationem aperuit, cur tractatibus de fide interesse possint laici. [He then quotes the passage] Unde Synodus octava (Constant. iv. A.D. 870) hærens vestigiis Nicolai, fatetur, Principis liberum Synodis œcumenicis interesse, cum de fide agitur; quamvis illos a cæteris conciliis arceat, et ab ipsa fidei definitione." The reference is to these words of Can. 17, "Unde nec interfuisse illos synodis, exceptis conciliis universalibus, invenimus. Nec enim fas est seculares principes spectatores fieri rerum quæ sacerdotibus Dei nonnunquam eveniunt."—*Hard.* v. p. 907. c. From these last words it is clear that the council was principally jealous, like Pope Nicholas, of interference by the emperors in ecclesiastical trials. But the question as respects emperors, the representatives of civil power, is somewhat different from that regarding the part belonging to simple Christian laymen in council. See Appendix Note B, on the Presence of the Emperors at Councils.

the truth, but against the truth? But we must not suffer fears such as these to blind our eyes to the true interpretation of past records. And we may, I think, not unfairly sum up the conclusion to be derived from the evidence of the Eastern councils in these words of S. Basil, in which, though speaking of a small matter only—it is of the translation of a Bishop of Colonia to Nicopolis—he expresses, apparently, his opinion as to the spirit in which all Church councils should be held. Writing first to the clergy of Nicopolis, he says, "Where spiritual men take the lead in counsels, and the people of the Lord follow them in harmony of mind, who will doubt that their decision was made in union with our Lord Jesus Christ?"* Again to the magistrates of Nicopolis, he writes, "Matters which concern the Churches are administered by those who are entrusted with the rule of them, but they are confirmed by the laity."†

2. We must go back some centuries to take up the evidence afforded by the Church in Africa. It was the latter half of the third century which witnessed the careful wisdom with which S. Cyprian guided the Church in his province. His attitude in reference to laymen is so well known as hardly to require to be stated. The resolution with which he commenced his episcopate will at once come to mind. "I resolved," he says,‡ writing to his clergy, "from the very beginning of my episcopate, to do nothing of my own private mind without taking counsel with you, and without the consent of my people." It is sufficient to say that this resolve was carried out. Whether it were a matter of doctrine or of discipline, or any other matter, he summoned the faithful laity to give their concurrence to the determination of it. Thus, at the great council held at Carthage, A.D. 255, respecting heretical baptism, a great number of the laity§ were present. The whole ques-

* S. Basil, Ep. 229. Tom. iv. p. 857, Migne, Clericis Nicop. A.D. 375. "Ὅπου δὲ ἄνδρες πνευματικοὶ τῶν βουλευμάτων κατάρχουσιν, ἕπεται δὲ τούτοις λαὸς κυρίου ἐν συμφωνίᾳ τῆς γνώμης, τὶς ἀμφιβαλεῖ μὴ οὐχὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ . . . . τὴν βουλὴν γεγένησθαι."

† Id. Ep. 230, Magistr. Nicop. tom. iv. p. 861, Migne. "Αἱ περὶ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομίαι γίγνονται μὲν παρὰ τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὴν προστασίαν αὐτῶν, βεβαιοῦνται δὲ παρὰ τῶν λαῶν."

‡ S. Cyprian, Ep. 5.

§ "Præsente etiam plebis maxima parte."—*Hard.* i. 159.

tion of the discipline proper to be exercised in the case of the lapsed was settled with their approval.

It has been said,* my Lord, that S. Cyprian was a man raised up by the providence of God, "in very stormy times, to hold together, by the grace, wisdom, and love which God gave him, the conflicting elements in the Church." The circumstances of his time are described as "exceptional." What he did was "a condescension" on his part. It was an act of grace to summon the laity, not the acknowledgment of a right. Supposing it to be so, we must still observe that the principle that the laity may take some part in council, is proved by S. Cyprian's conduct, whatever may be said of it as evidence of general practice. For he could not have permitted even as an act of grace that which was in itself wrong. He could not have sanctioned, for instance, ordination by the laity, or have allowed them to consecrate the Eucharist. And, therefore, if our own times are such as to render it expedient to admit the laity to certain privileges in our Synods, S. Cyprian's example is a voucher for its being right as well as wise, provided that they are not placed in a position in Synod which he did not assign to them.

But, in truth, the question whether S. Cyprian's times and S. Cyprian's conduct were or were not exceptional, must depend upon what can be shown as to the practice of the Church in other times and places. If, apart from this one example, it is indeed "in contradiction to the concurrent testimony of all ecclesiastical history,"† that laymen should sit as constituent members (though without the power of veto) in Synod, then it would be a matter for very grave consideration how far the example of even S. Cyprian might be followed in this. But if, as has been already shown, and as the evidence now to be adduced will still more convincingly show, limited powers in Synod were exercised by laymen, probably through the whole course of the Church's earlier history, then the argument from the wisdom of S. Cyprian must be allowed to have not an exceptional only, but full and unqualified weight.

3. It is the Spanish Church which furnishes the fullest evi-

* Dr Pusey, 'Councils of the Church.' Cf. Dr Moberly, Bampton Lect. p. 125.
† See Appendix, Note A.

dence as to the part taken by laymen in council. There is a document containing a description of the mode in which provincial councils were held, which, when compared with the records of councils actually held, is conclusive as to the fact of laymen forming a constituent part of those councils. This document is probably the only early record of the kind remaining. It is found in the Collection of Isidorus Mercator, but, as far as authorship goes, is probably due to Isidore of Seville, who presided at the Fourth Council of Toledo, A.D. 633, since the 4th canon of that council manifestly forms the groundwork of the document. It contains references to later councils, by name to the Eleventh Council of Toledo, A.D. 675, from which Mr Keble concluded that it was drawn up at some time between A.D. 675 and 714, at which time the Saracens began to overrun Spain. But there is a very clear reference to the first canon of the Seventeenth Council of Toledo, A.D. 694, though that council is not named, and consequently the date of the Formulary may be fixed with tolerable certainty to the last years of the seventh century. It is given by Hardouin,* from Isidore, in the preface to his "Concilia," and by Mr Keble, translated in full, in the Appendix to his Sermon on Primitive Tradition. The opening of the Formulary is, in Mr Keble's translation, as follows :—

"*The Order according to which the Sacred Synod should be held in the name of God.*

"At the first hour of the day, before sunrise, let all be cast out of the church; and, the entrances being barred, let all the doorkeepers stand at the one door, through which the prelates are to enter. And let all the bishops assembling, go in together, and take their seats according to the time of their consecration. When all the bishops have come in and taken their places, next let those presbyters† be summoned whose admission the nature of the case in hand seems to warrant. And let no deacon intrude himself among them. After these may be admitted the more eminent among the deacons, whose‡ presence

* Hardouin refers in the margin to Conc. Tol. iv. can. 4.

† Post ingressum omnium episcoporum, atque consessum, vocentur deinde presbyteri, quos causa probaverit introire.

‡ Quos ordo poposcerit interesse.

is required by the regular form of proceeding. And a circle being made of the bishops' seats, let the presbyters sit down behind them—those, namely, whom the metropolitan has selected to be his assessors; such, of course, as may act with him both in judging and in pronouncing sentence. Let the deacons stand in sight of the bishops; then let the laity* also enter who, by choice of the council, have obtained the privilege of being there. Moreover, the notaries also must come in, as is directed by the regular form, for reading documents and taking notes. Then, the doors being fastened, and the prelates sitting in long silence and lifting up their whole heart to the Lord, the archdeacon shall say, 'Pray ye.' And presently they shall all fall on their faces to the earth."

Then follow prayers, the reading of certain canons, and an address by the metropolitan to "the whole Synod," exhorting them to orderly conduct in the holding of the council. After this, the king and his nobles enter and shortly retire. "After the departure of the king and the exhortation of the archbishop before mentioned, shall enter in all who are priests, deacons, or in religious orders of any kind, to the hearing of the doctrinal discussion." The first three days are to be occupied solely with the doctrinal discussion, which was not, it appears, any matter of faith brought before the council for determination, but "for spiritual instruction's sake," and in order that the deposit of faith ratified by former councils might remain in living memory.

"After these things, on the fourth day, other causes shall be admitted in order. And thereupon all the religious persons, who on the former days had been present in the council for spiritual instruction's sake, shall go out, some presbyters keeping their seats in the council whom the metropolitan shall have appointed to that honour."

Since the religious persons who had been present for spiritual instruction's sake at the doctrinal discussion were distinct from the members of the council named in the opening paragraph,

* Deinde ingrediantur et laici, qui electione concilii interesse inruerint.

If the presbyters and deacons, the ground of whose attendance at the council is described in the above terms, were constituent members of the council, surely the terms in which the laity are spoken of require the same admission in regard to them, unless it could be shown that they were present only as spectators, a supposition set aside, to mention no other proof, by the fact of their subscribing.

it would seem that the presbyters last mentioned were some chosen from those who came to the doctrinal discussion, not originally members of the council, but allowed to remain by desire of the metropolitan. That those mentioned in the opening paragraph, the laymen among them, upon whom the doors were closed, really composed the council, seems clear from this which follows: "Farther, they are to enter into the council each day in the same manner and order as is hereinbefore appointed. For the rest, whether they be either presbyters or deacons, clerks or laymen, not themselves members of the council, who think themselves bound to appeal to it in any matter, let them give notice of their cause to the archdeacon of the metropolitan Church, and let him mention it to the council; then let them severally be permitted to come in and state their case."

The manner and order appointed for the assembling of the council we have already seen. And there are named severally, bishops, presbyters, deacons, and laymen, upon whom, after their entrance, the carefully guarded doors of the Church were to be closed. With these are here contrasted "the rest, whether they be either presbyters or deacons, clerks or laymen, not themselves members of the council." Is not the inference plain, that the council consisted of those before mentioned, and that, therefore, the laymen, "who by choice of the council obtained the privilege of being there," were an integral although subordinate part of the Synod?

But, perhaps, a proof more satisfactory still is furnished by comparison with the records of the Spanish councils themselves. From the Council* of Eliberis, then, at the very beginning of the

* The councils to which signatures of laymen are attached are, as given in Hard. Conc. tom. iii. pp. 477, D; 968, B, C; 978, A; 1726, E; 1748, D, E; 1749, A; 1772, B, C; 1806, B, C;

Conc.	Tolet.	III.	A.D. 589,
,,	,,	VIII.	653,
,,	,,	IX.	655,
,,	,,	XII.	681,
,,	,,	XIII.	683,
,,	,,	XV.	688,
,,	,,	XVI.	693,

cf. Conc. Tarrag. A.D. 516, cap. xiii., Hard. ii. 1045,—"Epistolæ tales per patres a metropolitano sunt dirigendæ, ut non solum a cathedralibus ecclesiis presbyteri, verum etiam de diœcesanis ad concilium trahant; et aliquos de filiis ecclesiæ sæcularibus secum adducere debeant."

fourth century, to the Sixteenth Council of Toledo, at the close of the seventh,we find laymen not only present, but subscribing. The subjects determined at the councils at which laymen subscribed, were of various kinds—doctrinal, disciplinary, and others. One of the councils was the now famous Third of Toledo, which condemned Arianism, and at which the words "et ex Filio" were added to the Creed of Constantinople.* At the Fifteenth of Toledo, A.D. 688, the nature of Christ was under discussion. The Eighth of Toledo determined several matters of clerical discipline. Here, then, are the instances sometimes demanded of laymen having subscribed as well as bishops. I do not myself attach so much importance to the fact of subscription, because I think that the reason why commonly bishops alone subscribed is shown by the following words of the Formulary already quoted, found verbatim in the fourth canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo, to have been, not because these alone composed the council, but because their signatures, as representatives of the rest, were generally sufficient. When necessary others, laymen less frequently, presbyters more often, added their signatures as well. The words are these: "Let no one presume to break up the council, unless all things shall have been so determined as that every point which has been settled by common consultation"—we have already seen who there were to consult—"be subscribed by the hands of every bishop severally."

4. We may now turn for a few minutes to see what evidence is afforded by the other Churches of Christendom not yet mentioned. In the year A.D. 529 was held the Second Council of Arausio or Orange. The subjects discussed at the council were those of grace and free will,—matters, therefore, distinctly doctrinal, and of high importance. At this council laymen were not only present, but subscribed, as we have seen they did in the Toledan councils, and, more than three centures later, at the so-called Eighth General Council, A.D. 870.

* This fact may, perhaps, create in some minds an impression unfavourable to the presence of laymen in Synod. But it must be remembered that, had not one of those laymen been a king, it is scarcely probable that the "lay element" would have been strong enough to carry a matter of such importance; and the fact, which is all we are now concerned with, of laymen having subscribed at this council, is in no way affected by it.

Their subscriptions also run in exactly the same form as those of the bishops—"consentiens subscripsi," or "consensi et subscripsi." In an old Lyons MS. there is this inscription given to the council,—"Constitutio episcoporum in civitate Arausicana, de gratia et libero arbitrio,"* This is interesting, as showing that even when laymen were both present and subscribed, the acts of the council might still be named after the bishops alone, doubtless because they were principally their acts, and this was a sufficient description of them. It shows, however, that we must not be too ready to conclude from such titles as these, that none but bishops composed the councils so called.

In the case of this council, not only did the laymen who had joined in it subscribe, but the reason for their doing so is also given. It is especially interesting, since it shows, that if on other occasions laymen did not subscribe, it was only because it was not thought necessary, and that whenever there appeared to be any benefit likely to follow from their doing so, there was no impediment, on the score of principle, to prevent them. The reason given is this,—"And since it is our wish and desire that the aforesaid definition of the ancient fathers and of us shall be medicinal, not only to the religious, but also to the laity, we have thought it good that the illustrious and magnificent persons who have assembled together with us at the aforesaid council should also with their own hand subscribe it."† Here we see very plainly the proportion of duty pertaining to the lay portion of the council. The definition of the matter of faith rested, principally at any rate, with the bishops, not only on account of their office, but because they alone, in all probability, possessed the requisite theological knowledge (otherwise there could have been no reason why a learned layman should not have contributed whatever he was able, so long as the laity were not empowered to overrule the bishops, or carry anything against them simply of their own will). And the laity having gone along with the bishops in the doctrinal determination, joined with them in subscribing to it. They had no power of veto, but they were not excluded from any measure of assent or of dissent short of this.

* Vid. S. Aug. Op. x. Appendix, p. 1785, Migne. † Hard. ii. 1102, A.

The Spanish Formulary already spoken of gave birth to several others, more or less exact copies of it, which apparently indicate that the practice of Germany and of England were much the same as that of the Church in Spain. One of these is found in the works of Burchard, Bishop of Worms, a learned but not very accurate compiler of canon law.* He gives it under the name of a Council of Salegunstad, A.D. 1022, perhaps really held at Mayence on the Rhine. This is a form for holding not a Provincial, but a Diocesan Synod. There is a similar form in the works of Joverius, a later German writer.† In Howel's‡ Synopsis, which preceded the great collection of Wilkins by a few years, and in the Appendix§ to Wilkins, are found similar "Forms of holding Synods in England in primæval times." A comparison of these with the Spanish one will show that they are all drawn from it, and through it from the fourth canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo.‖ But as they are actually of different dates and different countries, they serve to show the practice of later times. There are slight differences between them. Thus, in Burchard's form¶ nothing is said about the laity being chosen by the council; and, instead of their remaining as is directed by the Spanish form, during the doctrinal discussion, they are to go out. The forms in Howel and Wilkins return to the earlier type in both these respects. These variations are of some importance as showing the real meaning of those directions respecting the laity. In Germany, in the eleventh century, we could only expect to find any privileges which the laity had formerly had, to be curtailed. The various features of mediævalism, as distinguished from the earlier Catholic system, were then almost fully developed. One of these features was displayed in

* Van Espen, Jus Eccles. Univ. Pt. i. tit. xviii. c. ii. 1. "Apud Burchardum Wormatiensem reperitur formula habendi Synodum Diœcesanam sub nomine Concilii Salegunstadiensis anni 1022, quod et teste Baronio ab auctore Micrologi Moguntinum nuncupatur."—*Hard.* Conc. vi. 830.

† Joyce, Letter to Bishop of Derry, p. 8.

‡ Howel, Decreta etc. Brit. p. 79. "Modus tenendi Synodos in Anglia primævis temporibus."

§ Wilkins, Conc. iv. 784, Appendix.

‖ So Mr Joyce, p. 24.

¶ Even of this form Van Espen says, "Juxta hanc formulam ad Synodum conveniunt Presbyteri, Diaconi, et aliqui laici," *ut sup.* heading to c. ii. 2.

drawing as strong a line of demarcation as possible between the clerical and lay portions of the Church.

In one point, however, the Roman Curia bore witness to the earlier practices. It was a part of their policy to depress the secular clergy, as they were called, and the bishops, by exalting the monastic bodies. We find, accordingly, that members of these bodies were admitted to seats in the councils. Not only abbots and priors, but abbesses and prioresses, and others, to whom, either by right or custom, a seat belonged, were summoned, Van Espen* informs us, to the Diocesan Synods of Belgium. And similarly, he tells us,† it is to be determined by custom principally who are to be summoned to the Provincial Synod. And he mentions a Provincial Synod held at Cambray, A.D. 1565, at which all the abbesses of the province were represented by proctors, and one prioress was present in person; and all these were not only present, but subscribed. It is, however, he adds, generally held that those who besides the bishops are by right or custom present at the Provincial Synod, have a "votum consultivum" only. In respect of some having a seat by custom, he refers to the words of the Council of Trent,‡ which bidding the metropolitan to summon the Synod of his province, adds "at which all the bishops, and others, who by right or by custom ought to be present, should by all means be held bound to attend."

Doubtless it was the force of the argument derived from this prevailing practice, which, at an earlier period, enabled the Chancellor of Paris, Gerson, and the Cardinals of Cambray§ and St Mark, to maintain their ground at the Council of Constance against the Ultramontanes. They urged, indeed, both

* Van Espen, *ut sup.* c. i. 10. "Præter curam animarum exercentes, qui Synodo assistere debeant, non ex canonum sanctionibus duntaxat, sed et varia locorum consuetudine petendum est.

"11. Quare in Synodorum Belgicarum indictione videmus generaliter vocari capitulum Episcopale, Rev. Dom. Abbates, Abbatissas, Præpositos, Archipresbyteros Rurales, Priores, Priorissas, cæterosque omnes, qui de jure vel consuetudine Synodo Diœcesanæ interesse debent.

† *Id. ib.* pt. i. t. xx. c. i. 14.

‡ Conc. Trid. sess. xxiv. Decret. de Ref. c. ii.

§ See the Schedules in Hard. ix. 222-226; and cf. Moberly, B. L. lect. iv. p. 120, and Note BB, pp. 307-311. Fleury, liv. cii. c. 141, says, "Comme il y avoit dans le concile beaucoup de docteurs séculiers qui y avoit voix délibérative." The point debated was whether they should have the vote decisive; but this is sufficient to show who were accustomed to be present and take some part in councils.

Scripture and antiquity in favour of laymen taking part and voting at the council, but the most unanswerable argument would have been the fact of present practice.

Enough has now, I think, been said to show, my Lord, that there is a thread of testimony running from apostolic times through ecclesiastical records, and bearing witness to the fact of some recognition having been always accorded to laymen in the councils of the Church. The thread may not at all times be very easily discerned. But instead of being staggered at this, our wonder should rather be that so much evidence remains. For just as the freshness of the waters of those great rivers of the new world, whose current flows for hundreds of miles out into the ocean pure and untainted by its saltness, testifies to the strength of the source whence they flow, so, when we find the stream of testimony to the point before us flowing so far into the ecclesiastical ocean, in spite of adverse winds, and currents, and influences threatening to swallow it up, we ought to learn to rate at the highest the indications which do appear of a different spirit from the mediæval having filled the mind of the apostolic Church. It is undeniable that the tendency after the first centuries was in the direction of separating the clerical as widely as possible from the lay portion of the Church. Surely, then, whatever tokens of powers exercised by laymen appear in later times, we may conclude that if full records remained of the earlier, we should find the indications furnished by Scripture, as interpreted by St Chrysostom, fully carried out in the practice of the first centuries. Learning became before very long the almost exclusive possession of the clergy. In the period of the four great councils, it was found chiefly amongst the bishops. Is it then to be wondered at, that, though the place taken by laymen in council is clearly discernible, their part, as well as that of the lower clergy, is far less prominent than that of the bishops? We find that, according to the principles contained in Holy Scripture, some proportion of responsibility and of duty in maintaining "the faith once delivered to the saints," devolves upon the lay members of the body. We find that the chief portion of this duty belongs to the clerical members, in virtue of the ministerial commission entrusted to them. It

might have been thought that the part of the laity might have been intended to be discharged by a merely passive maintenance of the faith, in private and by example. But it was not thus that the apostles understood it, as we gather from the history of the Council of Jerusalem. It was not thus that S. Chrysostom, S. Cyprian, or S. Basil understood it. This is not what we gather from the records of the councils held in the East, in Africa, in Spain, or in the other countries of Europe, at which we find laymen present, laymen ready to assist in the deliberations, laymen subscribing. If we cannot answer all the questions of detail which might be asked, if we cannot determine the precise part which the lay members took, or in what way they voted, the reason is because these questions cannot be determined with accuracy in reference to any of the members of the synods,—episcopal, clerical, or lay,—not because evidence is wanting only in respect of the latter.

But, while Scripture and antiquity alike assign some proportion of duty to laymen in defence of the faith, it is equally clear from their position in the body, from the ministerial commission given to the clergy, and from all records, that their proportion must be a subordinate one; and it seems to me that this condition would be best satisfied, and the due, and no more than due, position in council assigned the laity, by excepting from their powers the power of veto. It may be said that this would be regarded by them as enacted in a spirit of jealous exclusion. But I cannot think that the laity will think so ill of the clergy, especially if the reason for the enactment is fully explained to them. And in practice it would very rarely come into operation. Usually the laity would sit, speak, and vote with the clergy, and the decision would probably be arrived at without even the necessity of calling for a vote by orders. But if such a case were to occur, and the vote of the lay order was contrary to the votes of the episcopal and clerical orders, then the necessity for excepting the laity from the power of veto on matters implying doctrine, would be made very apparent. For, in that case, if the concurrent vote of the three orders was requisite, they by their negative vote would have the power of hindering the decision of the clerical body from being carried into effect; which, in a case of trial for heresy,

for instance, or of the condemnation of a book, would be of very serious importance, and which, in any case, would overthrow the relative proportion of powers belonging to the lay and clerical portions of the Church respectively. I do not speak of the alternative of the decision being carried by the votes of any two orders against the third, because there are obvious objections to such an arrangement.

The objection may also be urged, that assent implies dissent. This is, of course, true; but a limited power of assent does not imply an unlimited power of dissent. If the laity have only a certain measure of responsibility, and consequently of privileges, in respect of that conciliar action whereby the faith of the Church is maintained, this must surely be limited on the negative as well as on the positive side. That the latter is apparently unlimited is accidental. In fact, the objection is of an entirely technical character, and will hardly be seriously maintained. The influence of the laity in council, with this proviso respecting the power of veto, will still be as real and forcible in practice as any the most eager for power could desire. Only, it will not be in their power to hinder the clerical body from the full execution of the trust committed to them; and further, a safeguard will be provided against the danger, not now threatening, but still a possible danger, of lay influence, through the exercise of the power of veto, becoming supreme in the direction of the doctrine and discipline of the Church. And I am sure, my Lord, that the faithful laity of the Church at this day will desire, equally with ourselves, that neither of these contingencies shall be hazarded.

It can hardly be necessary to reply to what may possibly be urged, namely, that concurrent assent of the three orders is the system adopted by the American and Colonial Churches. For surely the Scotch Church is not bound to follow their example, still less in every particular,—especially when all the advantages proposed to be obtained by the admission of the laity to Synod will be gained equally well by following their example, or rather that of the Primitive Church, in other respects, without the hazard of those unlikely, perhaps, but still possible dangers which have just been mentioned, ensuing; and, moreover, without doing that for which there does not appear to be

any justification, either in the theory or practice of Scripture and of the Church.

But it may be asked, on the other hand, What are the benefits likely to result from conferring upon the laity further powers in Synods than they already possess? I have already, I fear, taxed somewhat severely the patience of the Synod, but I hope I may be permitted, before I sit down, to say a few words on this point. For, my Lord, it appears to me that a double benefit, and that of a very important kind, would result from this measure. The character of the laity themselves would be raised by it, and it would add very greatly to the strength and efficiency of the Church.

The character of the laity would be raised by it. And is not this to remove, by the adoption of this measure, the very objection which presses most upon the minds of those who regard it with disfavour? In the Pastoral Letter upon this subject, lately issued by the Bishop of Brechin, is it not this which is most especially urged, that the laity of these times, from want of faith—from want, if the expression may be permitted, of theological depth, are less fitted than of old to take part in the conciliar action of the Church in respect of doctrine?

Let this objection be fairly met and faced; for it is capable, I believe, of the fullest and most satisfactory answer. Admitting the fact of the want of faith charged—and, with little knowledge of Scotland, I fear that it must be admitted in respect of a large portion of the laity of England—admitting the truth of the charge, the answer to it is ready, and will, I think, be allowed. For, speaking now only of still professing members of the Church, in what special points is their faith most deficient? Is not one of these their failure to realise the spiritual powers and prerogatives of the Church, belonging to her as being that living body of which Christ himself is the head, and in which, as in a temple consecrated to God, the Holy Ghost dwells? And is not coldness in respect to unity another point in which failing of faith is made especially manifest? But now, would not the adoption of the measure proposed be the most effectual means of remedying these deficiencies of faith? For look at the laymen of England and of

Scotland at this time who are most desirous of aiding the Church in a regular manner in her councils. Are they not the men whose faith in the Church's mission contrasts most favourably with the want of faith discernible in others? When, then, that already abundant zeal which is now fain to spend itself in irregular and sometimes extravagant ways, shall be brought under the very shadow of the Church's authority, and taught to flow in the appointed channels through which she acts, will not the faith now undirected be concentrated with greater earnestness upon those objects in which it still needs increase? Nay, in respect not only of these, but of all objects of faith, will not the very fact of having discussions of these put before them, arouse not only interest, but a spirit of inquiry in those who are to take part in them? Such, at least, has been the result where the experiment has been tried. "The position of laymen in our councils,"* said an American writer more than twenty years ago, "has tended to produce a class of well-read, sound, and practical lay churchmen, who are always found on the side of order, conservatism, and law." You, my Lord, have already referred to the similar testimony of an American layman of the present day.† And the Bishop of New York‡ also, in a letter to the Bishop of Salisbury, bears witness that the laymen in council "have always proved themselves cautious and conservative in their action, the great majority of them earnest and sound in their Church feelings and principles." Similar testimony has, I believe, been borne to the character and action of the lay churchmen who have taken part in the councils of the Church in New Zealand and Tasmania, by Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Nixon. Surely, then, under the condition here proposed, we may well hope that the like happy result would follow amongst ourselves, not only in respect of those laymen who would themselves be members of Synods, but, by means of a gradual influence spreading the

* See Report of York Convocation Debate on Admission of the Laity to Convocation, p. 5.

† "The very fact that the laity are admitted to a part in ecclesiastical discussions, makes them doubly solicitous to be well-informed upon questions which come up for arbitration; and this necessarily turns their thoughts towards the Church and its work, and so stimulates them to a deeper personal interest in all its varied operations."

‡ Bishop of Salisbury, B. L. p. 335.

from them, through the entire body of the laity of the Church.

And if the character and faith of the laity would be raised by this measure, no less would the strength and efficiency of the Church in defending and maintaining the faith be increased by it. Let me once more remind you of the words of the Arausican Council: "And since it is our wish and desire that the aforesaid definition of the ancient fathers and of us should be medicinal, not only to the religious, but also to the laity, we have thought it good that the illustrious and magnificent persons who have assembled together with us at the aforesaid council should also with their own hand subscribe it." Do not these words most forcibly suggest to us the weight which would be added to the voice of the Church, raised in council in defence of the faith, when that voice was understood to be the voice of the whole body of the Church, and not of the clerical portion of it only? There are times in which the Church needs, and will increasingly need, that all her forces should be concentrated and drawn together in defence of the common faith. The soldiers of the Lord's army must not be allowed, as Mr Tytler has well said,* to slumber in inaction. For if there is want of faith in professing members of the Church, much worse is the case of those who hang upon the outskirts, or who are already betaking themselves to the camp of the enemy. Whilst the watchmen upon the towers of our Zion do not cease to warn us of the oncoming of the foe, whilst it is daily more necessary to uphold such a truth as the divinity of our blessed Lord, and to proclaim that there is a Holy Ghost, how can we delay to call together the whole army of the Living God, and so prepare for the day of battle? And that witness borne in due proportion by the laity, together with the bishops and clergy, would be largely effectual, who can doubt? Let me only, in conclusion, set side by side with the declaration of the Council of Orange these words of one whom the Church must ever hold in honoured remembrance, the late Bishop of Exeter, Bishop Philpotts. It was at a meeting at Plymouth, shortly before the assembling of the Synod of Exeter, which was summoned to uphold the article of the Creed, "I believe

* Charles Fraser Tytler, Esq., a layman who had previously spoken.

one baptism for the remission of sins," that Bishop Philpotts spoke as follows:—"I trust the time will come when we shall be able to hail the great body of the people of England as the real laity of the Church. I shall be in my grave long before that period arrives; but most certainly, were that period now arrived, I should not only consider it right to consult them, but I should rejoice to have the real body of the laity present at the approaching Synod. I should hail it as one of the greatest blessings. I should remember how S. Cyprian and all the ancient Fathers regarded the laity as so deserving of confidence that they never did anything without consultation with them, except as respecting the guardianship of truth. That was a trust which they could not permit any other guardians than themselves to guard, the spiritual body being properly entrusted with the guardianship of the faith; and S. Cyprian, who was most anxious for the counsel of the presbyters and the concurrence of the laity, never dreamt of letting them decide matters of faith. Barrow, speaking of the Pope's supremacy, says,—'Every bishop in his own church did act freely according to his own will and discretion, with the advice of his ecclesiastical senate, and with the consent of his people (the which he did use to consult), without being controllable by any other, or accountable to any, further than his obligation to uphold the verity of the Christian profession, and to maintain fraternal communion in charity and peace with neighbouring churches, did require.' It is to that I look," continues Bishop Philpotts, "as the point to which all our efforts should be directed. We should strive to recover the purity, the simplicity, and the power, in its genuine sense, of the Church,—not the power of the clergy, far less of the bishop, but of the real Church—bishops, clergy, and laity—united in one common object for the good of the common Church; and to the laity, as the great body, should be paid great attention and great deference; and I declare I do not believe a man in this country exists more anxious to have the real authority of the laity than I am, as I am sure there is not one who would go farther than I would to obtain it."

Such were the words spoken, now nearly twenty years ago, by Bishop Philpotts. Do we not discern in them how wel-

come to him would have been a measure which, while carefully providing against the clergy being in any way impeded in the full execution of the trust committed to them, seeks "to recover the purity, the simplicity, and the power of the real Church—bishops, clergy, and laity, united in one common object for the good of the common Church?" Shall we then be slow to act upon principles such as these? If, now that an opportunity is offered of carrying out these principles in the true spirit of Catholic antiquity, and thereby of gaining those benefits which Bishop Philpotts foresaw would accrue to the Church from more closely binding together in community of action the triple cords of bishops, clergy, and laity, we neglect to act upon it, will not posterity justly reproach us with lack of discernment and of wisdom?

I will, therefore, move that we adopt the resolution which I have had the honour of bringing before you,—"That, as regards the limits within which the laity should be admitted to further powers and functions in the councils of the Church, it is the opinion of the Synod that, with the exception of the power of veto upon the decisions of the bishops and clergy implying doctrine, it is in accordance with the principles of holy Scripture, and the mind of the Primitive Church, that laymen should speak, vote, and lend their assistance in carrying out the decisions arrived at, as freely and fully as the clerical members of the Synods."

After some discussion, during which several of the laymen present expressed approval of the terms of the resolution, it was carried unanimously, one member only declining to vote.

Note.—A desire having been expressed to that effect, I have freely incorporated, in the text and notes of these pages, additional matter, in elucidation or illustration of the argument, which could not be brought within the reasonable limits of a speech.—H. C. P.

APPENDIX (A.)

ON THE RIGHT OF VOTING IN SYNODS IN ANCIENT TIMES.

Mr Joyce thinks the resolution with which S. Cyprian began his episcopate "falls far short of proving any general rule, that laymen should sit as constituent members, with voices decisive, in Diocesan Synods, in contradiction to the concurrent testimony of all ecclesiastical history."* Were the fact as Mr Joyce states it, I should entirely agree with him. But does not the fallacy lie in those words, "with voices decisive?" When Mr Joyce says "that the laity were constituent members of such assemblies with 'votes decisive,' this is more than appears," he states a fact which is perfectly true, unless he considers subscription as synonymous with "votes decisive." That the laity did subscribe, I shall presently show. But if anything else is meant by "votes decisive," can Mr Joyce show evidence of how this right was exercised by the bishops and clergy in Synod? For, surely, if he cannot, he has no right to press the want of evidence in respect of the laity as regards this right, in proof that nothing of the kind was exercised by them. And in default of this evidence, is not the fact that the presence of the laity at Synods is described in much the same terms as that of the presbyters and deacons, with a difference only of subordination in the position assigned to the lay members, presumptive proof that they as well as the clergy took a real though proportionate part in the proceedings of the Synods. Few subjects are, I believe, more obscure than that of the right of voting in Synods. I venture to doubt there being evidence to show whether there was anything in the ancient Synods corresponding to the modern "voting." That opinions were individually expressed we know; but there is no record, that I am aware of, of a question being put to the vote otherwise than by acclamation. And the words of the fourth canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo, which lays down the manner in which a Synod is to be held, seem to indicate that subscription was

* Rev. J. W. Joyce, Letter to the Bishop of Derry, p. 17.

not merely the token of individual assent, but was given by the bishops in the name of the whole council. The words are as follows:—"Concilium quoque nullus solvere audeat, nisi fuerint cuncta determinata: ita ut quæcumque deliberatione communi finiuntur, episcoporum singulorum manibus subscribantur." "Let no one, moreover, dare to break up the council unless a determination has been made of all the business; so that what things soever are concluded by the common deliberation, may be subscribed by the hands of the individual bishops." Since the bishops were not always the only members of the council who subscribed, as Mr Joyce himself says, surely it is reasonable to conclude that when no signatures except theirs were given, they were given in the name of all who were present—of the laity, therefore, as well as of the clergy.

It may be said that the use of the word ψῆφος, in the Nicene canons and elsewhere, proves that "votes decisive" were known in the ancient Synods. But it will be very difficult, I think, to prove this from the use of the term. Mr M'Clellan, in his recent pamphlet on the fourth Nicene canon, after careful investigation of all the terms used, adds the following note upon the word ψῆφος:—"I have not thought it necessary to dwell upon ψῆφος. It gives no support to one interpretation more than another, as it is a most *general* word, and employed for any decision of an assembly or synod (as Nicæn. Canon v.) whether respecting faith or discipline, ordination or deposition." (P. 26.) We can, therefore, gain no information from it respecting the manner in which decisions were arrived at, or whether the distinction between the "jus decisivum" and "jus consultivum" was known anciently, and whether the first was possessed by some members of the Synod only, while others had only the latter. Van Espen, speaking of this distinction, says no more than that it was held by men of his time (communiter receptum est, pt. i. t. xx. c. i. 16), and gives no ancient precedents. Since then it is not mentioned in any of the "Forms of holding Synods;" it probably came into use between the eleventh century—the date of the later of the forms—and the fifteenth, in which it was employed in the Councils of Pisa, Constance, &c.

APPENDIX (B.)

ON THE PRESENCE OF THE EMPERORS AT COUNCILS.

It will be observed that nothing has been said respecting the presence of the emperors at councils. It seemed better not to do so, because another and a different question is mixed up, in the case of the emperors, with that with which we are concerned. The question before us is, Within what limits are simple Christian laymen found to have taken part in the councils of the Church? The question of the relations of the Church with the civil power, especially in respect of the exercise of discipline, is involved in the attitude of the emperors towards the councils. When many bishops at Nicæa presented their complaints to Constantine, it was the power which he possessed as emperor which they each wished to enlist in their own favour. And when he ordered all those papers to be burnt, this ought not to be cited as evidence that a layman as such in those days felt that he had nothing to do with such matters, but we ought to see in the act the emperor declining to make the civil power judge of things which it was then thought that the Church alone should decide. For, as has been already remarked, the authority of the Church as a divinely commissioned body was at that time recognised. And therefore the frequent disclaimers on the part of the emperors of interference in the decisions of a council, are to be imputed to their recognition of the authority of the Church as contrasted with the civil powers, not of the bishops and clergy as contrasted with the laity. Some fear was doubtless felt of the civil power as too dangerous a neighbour, and this fear the emperors desired to remove. Abundant proof may, I think, be given that this was the main feeling on both sides. Take, for example, these words of the Emperor Marcian, addressing the Council of Chalcedon, to which we have already seen that laymen in their capacity of Christian witnesses to the truth were summoned. Ἀλήθεια ταῖς ὑμῶν ἐκθέσεσι φανερούσθω· ἡμεῖς γὰρ βεβαιότητα τοῖς πραττομένοις προσθήσοντες, οὐ δυναμεως ἐπίδειξιν ποίησόμενοι, παρεῖναι τῇ συνόδῳ ἐδοκιμάσαμεν, ὑπόδειγμα ποιησάμενοι τὸν τῆς μακαρίας λήξεως Κωνσταντῖνον.—*Hard.* ii. 465, A. "Let the truth be by you

set forth and manifested. For we have determined to be present at the Synod, after the example of the pious Constantine, for the purpose of giving additional confirmation to your acts, not for the purpose of making a demonstration of power." It is from this point of view that Van Espen (Jus. Eccles. pt. i. tit. xx. c. 4) discusses the authority of princes in the synods of bishops. It is quite true that the emperors, in their disclaimers of authority in ecclesiastical matters, sometimes assign their being laymen as the ground. Thus the Emperor Valentinian, in his answer to the Oriental bishops requesting him to summon a council, is reported by Sozomen to have said, Ἐμοὶ, μὲν, μετὰ λαοῦ τεταγμένῳ, οὐ θέμις τοιαῦτα πολυπραγμονεῖν (Sozom. vi. 7. quoted by De Marca De Concord. Sac. et Imp. lib. ii. c. 6, p. 44.) "For me, who am one of the laity, it is not lawful to meddle in such matters." Hooker considers this to have been a "colourable reason," to escape from an awkward position. Nothing could better show the two characters of the emperor and the layman, and that what is spoken in the one character is not always applicable to the other. (Hooker, E. P. viii. v. 2, vol. iii. p. 394, Ed. Keble.) And so the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, in their letter to the Council of Ephesus, respecting the part which Count Candidian was to take in the council. He was to be present to keep order, but not to interfere in the discussions respecting faith, since that was the province of the bishops, ἀθέμιτον γὰρ τὸν μὴ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων τυγχάνοντα τοῖς ἐκκλεσιαστικοῖς σκέμμασιν ἐπιμίγνυσθαι.—*Hard.* i. pp. 1345, 1346, c. D.

But though these passages prove that the distinction between interference by the civil power and the part which a layman might properly take in bearing witness to the faith, was not always clearly perceived, they do not appear sufficient evidence that it was not the exercise of their civil authority in ecclesiastical affairs which the emperors generally felt would be improper; and that because this is so evidently the uppermost feeling in most of the passages adduced. Thus Marcian says, "Magis esse decorum, ut ecclesiastica capitula ab ecclesiasticis quam a civilibus legibus, et a Synodo quam a se sancirentur" (*vid.* Howel, Proleg. ad Synopsim.) And even Justinian (Nov. 83. c. 1.; Howel, *ib.*) "neque enim volumus talia negotia omnino scire civiles judices, cum oportet talia ecclesiastice examinari."

Nor can I convince myself that if S. Ambrose had been addressing a simple layman, from whom no exercise of power was to be

feared, and who understood that his part in council, though real, was subordinate to that of the clerical body, he would have expressed himself exactly as he has done in the following passage, the strongest, I suppose, which is to be found :—"Quando audisti, Clementissime Imperator, in causa fidei laicos de Episcopis judicasse? Ita ergo quodam adulatione curvamur, ut sacerdotalis juris simus immemores, et quod Deus donavit mihi, hoc ipse aliis putem esse credendum? Si docendus est Episcopus a laico, quid sequetur? Laicus ergo disputet, et Episcopus audiat; Episcopus discat a laico. At certe, si vel scripturarum seriem divinarum vel vetera tempora retractemus, quis est, qui abnuat, in causa fidei, in causa inquam fidei, Episcopos solere de Imperatoribus Christianis, non Imperatores de Episcopis judicare."—*Ambros.* lib. v. epist. 35, quoted by De Marca *ut sup.* p. 44.

Observe the frequent repetition of the word *judico* in this passage. And does not the use of this word show that the idea of the episcopal decisions being *overruled* by laymen, and especially by the emperor, whose power would give him the means of doing so, was principally in S. Ambrose's thought? At any rate, there is a wide difference between overruling or taking the principal part in what is decided, and that duly proportioned and subordinate testimony, which is all that it is here contended there is warrant from Scripture and antiquity for laymen bearing in council. And this seems to have been felt at the Fourth Council of Constantinople, A.D. 870, sometimes called the Eighth General Council, already referred to.

For after the Emperor Basil addressing the Synod at the close of the proceedings, and calling upon all present—whether bishops, clergy, or laymen—to state their objections, if they had any, to what had been determined, had added the proviso, that it did not belong of right to laymen to determine ecclesiastical causes (quanquam non datum sit istis [sc. laicis] secundum canonem dicendi quidquam penitus de ecclesiasticis causis; opus enim hoc pontificum et sacerdotum est; sed ex abundanti, etc.), the Synod nevertheless, as we have seen, called upon the laymen for their assent and subscription, which was given.

I cannot think, then, that S. Ambrose, or any other of the Fathers, however strong may be the expressions used by them with reference to the civil power, would not have been of the same mind with S. Cyprian, S. Chrysostom, and S. Basil, as regards the presence of layman in council in their capacity as members of the Christian body; that they would not have assented to the principle as stated

by S. Basil,—Αἱ περὶ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομίαι γίγνονται μὲν παρὰ τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὴν προστασίαν αὐτῶν, βεβαιοῦνται δε παρὰ τῶν λαῶν; or that they would not have regarded the confirmation by the lay portion of the Church, so long as the decisions of the clerical body were not overruled by them, as of great value and importance.